1:Gutierrez de Pineda--1 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

I

PRENATAL CARE. BIRTH. CHILDREN.

842 Valuation of children. Every Guajiro family group endeavors to increase the number of its members as much as possible. As a consequence, every birth is acclaimed with happiness so that no newborn suffers from the problem that his arrival may not be welcomed by his parents or relatives. On the contrary, he will always find his place within the group, in which it is hoped that he will play his part adequately.

614 The fact is that the importance of any group depends on the number of its members, as it can be observed that, although some groups are economically strong, the relative scarcity of men causes the loss of directive positions and influence. Relations between clan groups are on a par when they are more or less matched in the number of their males; otherwise any problem pending between them will be decided in favor of the side where the greater influence of the men weighs more. In order to balance forces, the weak group must seek alliance with other groups.

614 Notwithstanding the general eagerness to increase numerically in order to keep the balance or a more just social situation
554 throughout the peninsula, there are some groups that are not so inclined. These are those that have fallen into an inferior state which obliges them to be put at the margin of Guajiro life, where they end up suffering all kinds of injustice and ill-treatment from the others who, finding no force to withstand them, profit by this and, for any reason whatsoever, confiscate their property, deny them all rights, and burden them with demeaning situations like bond service. Such, in brief, is the lot of groups that have few male members and few economic
614 resources. This being so, as a sort of passive defense, the wom-
554 en refuse to conceive: They make use of every empirical re-
842 course to limit maternity. They use herbs which are prescribed

614 /1 cont./
554 for delaying menstruation during the seclusion following the
[842] appearance of puberty, so that the organism may become weakened and the menstrual cycle no longer appears, with which their matrimonial life does not bear fruit. They know beforehand /2/ the destiny of their children. When they become
[567] of useful age a stronger group will fall upon them to enslave them under any pretext -- such as the loss of an animal whose disappearance will be attributed to them without any outcry or civil authority aroused to impede this, and, the injustice inflicted being proved, without any punishment being applied to the aggressor group. Their daughters will be taken as wives
614 without the necessary Guajiro payment, or, simply, they will
554 abuse them, there being no family backing to oppose the de-
593 mands of the men belonging to the stronger groups. If a daughter should be bought, only a nominal payment will be made to silence the protests of her family, but later a very heavy matrimonial retribution will be demanded. Generally, the husband will brag about the way in which he ill-treats the girl, knowing that she is unprotected and that her relatives have insufficient power to demand justice. Thus it is not rare that poor wives are killed by their husbands after a life in which the unfortunate women have been subjected to cruel beatings and even mutilation. And if the family has no alliance with any powerful groups, the death is not indemnified. The mothers also know that should
614 one of their sons, accidentally or in self-defense, wound or kill
554 a member of a stronger family group, the repirsal taken will
628 not be preceded by a demand for compensation payment or any of the legal requirements usually stipulated, but that his whole group will be destroyed or enslaved and deprived of its clan lands, fields, sources of water supply, and personal effects. For such reasons these weak groups are allowing themselves to die out by reducing their birth rate to a minimum.

82 Regarding the special wishes of each group as to the sex of its future descendants, we feel the need of making an analysis of the valuation which each has in the society.

/62 cont./

581 832 291 201 The Guajiro woman also knows that men admire dress and so endeavors to adapt hers to their taste: robes of light, attractive colors, amply cut, considerably ornamented (acculturation), and for feast days or visiting all the collection of jewelry: bracelets, anklets, necklaces of several strings or thick chains with a pendant, numerous rings with big stones, especially tumas, jewelry she was given on finishing her seclusion by her maternal relative of the most distinction and prestige. From then onward she begins to wear them, in smaller quantities when she is at home, but the whole set when attending a feast or visiting. In Jarara a distinctive mark of high social standing [554 304] is the use of earrings /orejeras may mean earplugs. -- Translator/, because in this region the women, who are not very careful in their dress, use this ornament which is an indication of their social and economic position.

581 The combination, then, of dress and physical appearance are two essential conditions of the attractiveness of the Guajiro woman, which determine her success in order to be bought at a good price or that her husband may not lose interest because of other marriages. The preservation of her physical attractions is a struggle which she maintains for these two reasons; also, dressing well, apart from making her attractive, is a sign of the class to which she belongs and which she must preserve at any sacrifice, as therein lies the prestige of her kin and the maintenance of their status. /63/.

In addition to the sexual incentive expressed in previous paragraphs, the Guajiro seeks in his marriage an economic value, that is to say, a woman who possesses certain qualifications that will assure him a certain latitude. The payment he makes for a wife permits him to demand of her his keep and that of his children, for which reason he seeks one capable of complying with this custom by her own efforts.

The work that the woman can carry out to fulfill this economic responsibility is of a domestic nature: the making of hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/, bags, belts, pottery,

/65 cont./

555 two; she increases the man's prestige because in carrying out her
581 duties as mistress of his house and representative of the home,
593 she knows by suitable attentions (agreeable talk, preparation of food according to traditional custom, hospitality appropriate to the social standing of a guest, etc.) how to win everybody's appreciation, consideration, and respect.

Furthermore, as the maintenance of prestige rests partly on the wife, the knowledge of the psychic and legal life and customs of the society in which she lives enables her to act correctly and without errors. She will maintain due solemnity in carrying out the most important acts in life, as, for example: the seclusion of young women, marriage, illness, etc., so strengthening her status. She will also rule her family more correctly and constitute herself the guardian of tradition, which is so respected by the Guajiro and in which resides the strength of their culture.

• • •

583 The price that the Guajiro man pays for his wife includes
636 several conditions among which is the assumed virginity as he will expect his wife to come to the marriage as such each time that marriage penetrates into his psychic life, and he will feel defrauded if she does not, so much more if the status of the bride is high and even more if she is his first wife.

The man takes into account various aspects of virginity:
[554] First, he finds a special attractiveness in the virgin woman for the satisfaction of deflowering her, which, apart from the sexual attractiveness, gives him in the future a reason for boasting and prestige, the halo of a fortunate man which /66/ fills him with pride and gives him a feeling of superiority. Second, and from the economic point of view, because he has paid the price asked, convinced that his wife is a property which belongs to him, wholly and exclusively. Third, because he thinks that if a woman has given herself to another man, secretly, it was because she was drawn to him by a great affection or because she is a

/83 cont./

583 Generally, the girl's family is advised by the suitor's relatives that they will come to buy her. The man, on his part, has requested his most influential maternal uncle, or one who is considered a "cacique," to go in company with his mother and other friends to arrange the purchase of the girl of his choice. They arrive dressed in their best and receive the most generous hospitality from the girl's relatives. They hand over as a sign of the engagement the so-called "prendas /"ornaments"/," which [301] are necklaces of gold set with tuma stones (1), the value and

1. A mineral quartz used as a precious stone.

number of which depend on the economic strength of the suitor, going all the way up to ten in persons of the highest standing, especially when the man is acquiring his first wife, who as we have seen is the principal one.

If the girl's relatives see that the marriage is an advantageous [578] one, they accept the gifts. If they do not accept them, this indicates a definite refusal and rarely occurs, since it implies contempt which could give rise to serious differences between the groups concerned. Once the necklaces are handed over, the spokesman for the bridegroom offers to buy the girl, and the girl's maternal relative of most authority replies, fixing the price, [554] which generally is equal to that paid by the girl's father for her mother; often they get a higher price, which increases their prestige. They argue for a short time until they arrive at an arrangement between them as to the price and the basis of payment. Then the young man's relatives leave to tell him of the arrangement made, which he respects and accepts without making any kind of objection, and he gets ready to pay the payment agreed upon in order to obtain his wife. /84/.

554 583 Payment in cows. The number of heads of livestock that a man has shows his economic position and through this his status in the family group and in the whole community, because stock

/132 cont./

844 diet and the magic preventatives required for a healthy baby and an easy delivery; they also often have a knowledge of the properties of certain herbs of which they make frequent use in the exercise of their profession, as well as the magic requisites necessary to counteract the ill-effects of the violation of some taboo during the period of pregnancy, a transgression which may cause abnormally long labor.

For this reason their services are very efficient and highly valued by the community; on their expertness and the success of the cases they handle during their career depend their reputation, their popularity, and the fee they receive.

[554] The midwife's position is an honorable one. Hers is not an occupation that can be looked down on; although it is not practiced by women of high class, it does give those who exercise it a certain elevation in their familial and general status.

Prior to the birth an arrangement is made regarding the services of the midwife. She is paid according to the economic capacity of the future mother, adding something more to the agreed-on fee when the delivery happens to be extremely prolonged and difficult, that is, when it requires greater effort and assistance than the normal case. The usual payment includes a length of material for a robe (ten yards) of the color and quality requested by the midwife; several bottles of rum (five or more), some ornament, etc. The midwife's request is not always the same but varies in accordance with her personal needs at the time. Also she must be well fed all the time that her presence is necessary in the home of the mother.

846 556 Postnatal regimen. Guajiro mothers follow a special regimen which is in accordance with their social position. Those of strong clan groups who have at their disposal a large number of women servants and slaves can enjoy /133/ the luxury of remaining undisturbed without being bothered by any domestic duties, aided by their maternal kinswomen or those who replace these in caring for them. Guajiro women say that when the first child is born it is customary for the mother to remain in bed and out of the sunlight

/156 cont./

764 fixed in her ears suspended in a chain, starting with those of her greatest preference; all her necklaces, bracelets, anklets, and rings must be placed on the corresponding part of her body. If the deceased is a man, they also put on his jewelry, as his spirit 764 will need them in the other life to maintain his status beyond the grave. If he belonged to the rich class, he is shrouded in the 556 following manner: First, they cover his head with a special cloth woven by his wives; the bottom of the cloth covers his face, and the ends are fixed behind his head. Over this is placed a second cloth which reaches down to the belt and pins the arms laterally along the body. A third cloth covers the legs, and a fourth may be added to wrap the whole body, but the use of this latter has been gradually disappearing. Thus enshrouded, he is put in the enramada /bough-covered shelter/ within the coffin [177] -- modern custom -- or enveloped in a still fresh hide and placed in a hammock. Then the lamentations begin.

The custom exists of sending to all the absent consanguineous 764 relatives, the most intimate friends, and in general all acquaintances, word of the death or of the patient's being near death, as the illness is made known from the first moment, especially [202 to close relatives. If they are important people, runners are sent 554] as soon as the sick man worsens, so that at the time of his death, the house is already full of people. As those who arrive to show their sympathy are so many and they appreciate how impossible it is for the master and mistress of the house to offer them all adequate hospitality, the visitors arrive with their hammocks, water in large pitchers, food, etc., which they bring on their burros.

The messenger sent with the news, especially when he 764 carries it to a consanguineous relative of the deceased, knows 551 that he must not pronounce the dead man's name, as this would [207] gravely offend his relatives. For that reason he usually says: "That relative of yours who lived in such-and-such a place, who did such-and-such an important thing, has died." Furthermore, none of those attending /the funeral ceremonies/ will pronounce

/157 cont./

764 152 that it was not really for the dead man that they kept vigil, because many times he might be unknown to them, but for the evocation before the corpse of the total sufferings of their group and their personal sorrows.

While visitors and part of the maternal and closest paternal relatives take their places around the deceased in order to take their turn in keeping up continual wailing, the remaining relatives of the dead man comply with the norms of hospitality and courtesy customary on such occasions, which are to receive the sympathy of those who arrive, to serve drink to the men, and to constantly maintain the funeral spirit. The maternal relatives must attend to the distribution of the /158/ livestock of the dead man, a part of which it is customary to give to the visitors who come to offer their condolences.

764 554 A wake can and should be prolonged as long as the livestock of the deceased lasts, and in the event that these are too few to maintain the prestige of the status of the dead man's consanguineous relatives, recourse must be had to contributions from the latter. From their point of view, the veritable economic-social status of the dead man is shown by the slaughter and distribution of animals which is made at this moment; also, this has its effect on his life beyond the grave, as the livestock slaughtered and the funeral outfit form the basis of the deceased's status in his other life.

In La Guajira the deaths of some of the most outstanding clan chiefs are long remembered. It is recounted, for example, that the wake of the cacique José Dolores lasted two and a half months until the animals he owned were completely slaughtered and distributed among those who came to show their sympathy. The whole /population of the/ peninsula was mobilized to accompany his kinsmen. They say that no less than 30,000 bolivars (Venezuelan money) were spent on eau de cologne to overcome the putrefaction and the bad odors given off by the corpse during such a long time in the hot climate.

/158 cont./

764 554 The distribution of animals and drink is made according to the standing of the visitor. Those of high class should be given cattle, mules, or horses (already mature), and rum or brandy in abundance; the poor, goats and sheep, and drink in lesser quantity and quality. In some cases a piece of meat is distributed among them so that they can eat during the funeral gathering.

It is customary to retain a reserve of animals for the second burial, which in a certain way is a repetition of the first.

When the personal property of the dead man is not sufficient to maintain adequately the status of the clan group, his consanguineous relatives, headed and directed by the family head, start a collection which is obligatory in nature to gather together livestock and drink in order to sustain the prestige of the collectivity and that of the dead man in particular. This collection is repeated for the second burial.

764 Once all the livestock of the deceased has been distributed, the family orders the burial. If the death occurred outside the lands of his consanguineous relatives where the clan cemetery [492] is located, he is carried there, tied on a horse. All those attending the wake accompany the corpse, on horseback or on foot, drinking incessantly during the whole procession. The grave has been opened previously by a very close and dear relative of the dead man, usually /159/ a nephew, his sister's son, who feels honored with this responsibility. If he should [695] refuse to do it, it would imply the greatest offense to his group, but we found no such case of refusal to comply with this honorable duty. (The influence of the mission in Upper La Guajira has caused the Indians there to place the body in a crude coffin of wood of the pionillo, a leguminous tree which is very abundant in the region. In Lower La Guajira the body is wrapped in the fresh skin of one of the slaughtered animals, one or two /sic/, which preserves it from putrefaction for a longer time.)

In front of the open grave the funeral procession halts while the children related to the deceased, and later the adults, walk over it, with the idea that this will delay /the return of/ death.

/159 cont./

764 The corpse is lowered into the grave with ropes, with the greatest care taken not to bang it or lower it roughly to the bottom of the grave. This would mean an offense to the dead man, who in some way would show his annoyance at this lack of care, which is in itself an insult; and the relatives would feel considerably offended at the want of respect shown to one who was of their blood and at a time so important to the Guajiro as that of burying a kinsman. It represents, to his way of thinking, an insult almost as great as to refuse to dig his grave, to speak ill of a dead relative, or to pronounce his name.

764 783 The same individual who digs the grave covers it with the excavated earth, doing his work with extreme care. Then he goes to his home where he is submitted for some time to a purification ceremonial. The people who formed the procession return to their homes, after shooting off their firearms while the burial is in progress with the idea of frightening off all evil spirits. In times past they shot arrows repeatedly. Upon return the relatives also go through a purification ceremony, and generally, gathered together, they slaughter an animal for themselves from among those which had not been presented nor had belonged to the deceased.

764 For the dead man they place a supply of food and drink in the grave (his favorite food), and if while alive he liked to get drunk, they place an abundance of liquor. His most valued personal utensils, especially his chamber pot, an indication that the owner was of high status, are placed on his grave, as are his cups and dishes, which also give prestige to the dead man.

514 554

765 During a more or less lengthy period his closest relatives go frequently to visit his grave, taking with them food which they eat over it, after weeping there for a long time and asking the dead person to join them. On the eighth day after his death it is mandatory /160/ to make such a visit, later, at the end of each lunar month after the occurrence of the death. These visits are made with more frequency when the relatives believe

/204 cont./

628 toward making a settlement and establishing a payment which will restore peace. The people, on hearing the words, are moved and applaud the facile oratory of the person who brings the "word"; they praise him and begin to give ground in their too onerous demands against the clan of the murderer; they put to one side the haughty tone with which they started the proceedings and begin to outline the basis for a settlement, which the arbitrator then transmits to the other side.

However, it may happen that the clan that has suffered the death of its relative, inflamed by the loss and also wishing to prevent the other side from thinking them afraid, boasts of its force and shows its dislike of the settlement. Thus, it declares to the other: "I am a rich Indian. My people are brave and are ready to fight. I want our people to measure their strength against yours. We are not able to forget that one of your men cowardly spilled our blood and took away a life, which was part of ours, too. His spirit cannot rest and still wanders about the places where he was slaughtered. We want to make felt in those of your blood what they have done to ours, so that you do not laugh at our pain nor think us cowards. Dying means nothing to us if for each one of ours we kill more of yours, and our nephews will multiply to avenge our deaths. We're not afraid of you, and we want to fight. We are eager to prove to you that we are capable of making you respect our pain and of avenging our spilled blood. We are not cowards; nobody can yet dominate our men, and they have the courage to make themselves respected. Yours aren't even good as women for ours. We ask for war."

628 577 554 The Guajiro Indian fears above everything else that he be thought a coward, because then the other groups would not respect his rights. His women would be easily violated without obligatory payment; his cowardice and his fear would be thrown up at him at every moment in such a way that his social life would be made impossible. On the other hand, as long as they are more brave and more cruel, they are sure of implanting fear, and with it authority and power. A group that is feared is a powerful group and one that maintains its status.

/228 cont./

462 home, have not found a substitute and have to be made by the
286 maternal relatives or by the wife.

Among the items that have survived we should include the blouses used by girls of prepubertal age.

The application of weaving by the women extends to the manufacture of some parts of the harness for horses, such as cinches, surcingles, saddle blankets, croup belts, etc., in the making of which they employ diverse techniques and both autochthonous methods and those introduced through acculturation.

While the manufacture of saddles, trappings, and accoutrements of horses is done by the men, the women make the adornments for them and the headstalls of the halters and blinkers, [492] [554] with the complicated system of knots and tassels which indicate the standing and wealth of the rider. /229/

Finally, it is strictly the women's task to make all the utensils used in weaving, from the most elementary type of loom made with two vertical sticks and used for making the classical Indian hammock /chinchorro/, to the most complicated, such as those used for weaving double-faced hammocks; and from the wooden bobbins to the vegetable colors and mordants used in dyeing the fabric or the thread.

462 Domestic work is also women's work, and it includes obtaining and preparing food and drink, and serving, storing, and preserving it, as well as killing small mammals and domestic birds, and cleaning and seasoning the intestines and other offal of cattle, sheep, and goats.

Within the Guajiro dwelling the woman maintains cleanliness [296] and order, and she is also held responsible for making, repairing, and washing the articles of clothing of her husband, her children, and herself.

The care of minor children occupies much of the Guajiro woman's time (Cf. Chap. II) as does their training, and it is exclusively the women's function to look after and instruct the girls during the traditional seclusion at puberty. Also, it is their responsibility to teach feminine tasks to their young female consanguineous relatives.

/247 cont./

177 562 in relation to her sister's children, has been weakened in view of the intervention of the paternal aunts, previously unrecognized in relation to their nephews and nieces in the masculine line.

Women, considered simply as a social component, have acquired a higher position owing to the cultural changes that have affected the community due to their contacts with other civilizations. The most important advance, perhaps, is the relative liberalizing of clan rules in their relation to marriage, as the woman does not submit so voluntarily to the husband that her maternal relatives pick for her, but has sufficient strength of will, backed up by actions which are happening with ever greater frequency, to choose her man herself even though this may mean for her the breaking off of all ties which link her to family and clan organization. Furthermore, she acquires with the white marriage institution legal powers to combat polygamy.

VII

654 Having outlined the various influences of acculturation on the individual, on society, and on Guajiro culture, and having sketched in this study the life cycle of the individual and some of the most characteristic social institutions of the community, we can now refer in a general way to the conformation of the status of the native in its different aspects. /248/

The points of reference of individual status of an inhabitant of La Guajira may be summarized as follows:

1. Membership through blood in a powerful clan, and within it being the son of a woman of high position, who is a first wife (remember the presence of polygamy and its conflicts). This implies:

A. Control of sufficient wealth represented by:

a) Numerous heads of livestock, preferably cows and horses.

b) Family jewels set with turna, the traditional stone; possession of ancient, solid gold or silver idols.

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●594 c) Control of both agricultural and pasture lands of first quality.

d) Access to wells with constant supplies of water for watering the livestock and for domestic needs.

e) Possession of numerous bond servants and slaves, who will free the women of the clan from domestic duties and provide the men with physical pleasure and a source of economic exploitation.

f) Commercial activities.

g) Holding government posts in the national official bureaucracy.

The economic solvency of the clan allows both the individual member and the family adequately to maintain its prestige in society.

With reference to the individual, because of the opportunity to have:

Expensive clothing for all occasions in accordance with the new patterns introduced by acculturation.

Modern weapons, also a new element in his culture, (guns, rifles, carbines, etc.) and poisoned and magic arrows of great value because of the supernatural powers they have and because they imply the sacrifice of children (Cf. Aspectos de la Magia en La Guajira) by Roberto Pineda Giraldo, Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional, Vol. III, Part 1, 1947. Bogotá, 1950).

Magic charms, especially those that are related to obtaining riches and love, prestige and affection, and /success in/ war. /249/

Numerous submissive wives, the first, who is the one who represents him socially, being of high standing.

Utensils and personal effects in accordance with his rank and with /the standards introduced by/ acculturation.

Thoroughbred horses and luxuriously adorned gear and trapping.

/249 cont./

554 With reference to the family, because it permits it as a unit to comply with the commitments it has contracted with each one of its members in particular and with society in general, as for example:

To give financial aid to its members or their friends in the outstanding moments of their lives, as for instance, in the case of a first marriage.

To entertain friends at obligatory social festivities with corresponding ostentation.

To attend to guests who visit the home in accordance with the family rank and that of the visitor, and with the idea of more than reciprocating previous hospitality received.

To be able to pay rapidly and satisfactorily any agreed-upon payment arranged with another group for the violation of the regimen for personal safety or collective stability, on the part of one of its members.

To fulfill adequately the magic sacrifices of propitiation and prevention when this is required either for the violation of a taboo or to forestall the effects of dreams, etc.

B. Numerical strength of the clan in male members of economic solvency and social prestige.

The aspects expressed in paragraphs A and B are extremely important for the individual in the family and in society.

In the family group, because with these advantages he will enjoy respect and a distinguished position among his kin which will automatically make him the head of the family.

In society, because he will receive indemnity rapidly and effectively when a violation of the regimen for individual security or collective stability has injured him directly or indirectly, and because it allows for the submission to his will of family or clan groups other than his own, who will recognize him as their cacique and whose influence they will seek at times when they are in trouble or conflict.

The second large group of conditions which affect the individual status is made up of his personal qualities, which may be subdivided in the following manner:

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554 a) Physical qualities. Having a normal physical appearance, that is, conforming to the aesthetic ideal of the group; lack of defects or deformities, such as the lack of a limb or an eye, presence of visible scars, especially on the face, etc., and to be physically strong.

b) Psychic and cultural qualities. Among these qualities the following should be pointed out: 1. Capacity to bear fatigue. 2. Resistance to hunger during times of scarcity; ability to withstand prolonged thirst. 3. Cruel in reprisal. Inflexible in decisions. 4. Vindictive. 5. Spiteful. 6. Proud. 7. Fearless. 8. Introverted as much as possible. 9. Hospitable and generous. 10. Sexually insatiable. 11. A good drinker. 12. A skillful shot. 13. Possession of a life record of numerous wartime and amorous adventures. 14. A good rider. 15. Never having violated the regimen for social stability by murder or robbery. 16. Possesion of a perfect understanding of the native language and bilingualism, with oratorical qualities which increases his capacity to convince others in cases when this may be necesary. 17. A clever versifier.

c) Within the division of labor to be able to fill some of the following offices: 1. Shaman. 2. Arbitrator or cacique. 3. Skillful and rich herdsman. 4. Accomplished hunter and fisherman. 5. Good harness maker. 6. Trader. 7. Public employee.

554 562 As to feminine status we can state that it has the same essential points of reference with certain variations due to her sex, which we shall briefly enumerate:

1. Membership by consanguineous ties in a powerful clan with the same characteristics as for the man, which implies:

A. Control of sufficient wealth to maintain personal prestige represented by:

a) Abundant and costly ornaments.
b) Expensive clothes and articles of personal use.
c) Possesion of charms, especially those for love.
d) Numerous staff, free or otherwise.

/250 cont./

554 562 e) The services of paid wet nurses to feed her children.

f) Good horses with the corresponding ostentations harness. /251/

g) Her own dwelling apart from that of her husband's other wives.

h) Costly outfit and dowry /on marriage/.

In her relations with her family and with society:

A free and protected childhood, that is, no material obligations to carry out until the prepubertal period.

Rites of passage in accordance with the strictest norms.

Being bought as a first wife with cows and in one payment, at a higher or equal price to that paid for her female ancestors.

Being able to give to her sons /and daughters, hijos/ and nephews /and nieces, sobrinos/ costly jewels when they are about to be married or when they have to compensate someone for an injury inflicted.

To be in a position to send her children to study at civilizado centers.

And all the other /items/ we have seen in the case of men.

B. As in the case of the man, her clan should include numerous males of socio-economic prestige.

Aspects A and B are most important for her both in the family group and in society in the following manner:

In the family group, by enjoying respect and acquiring an outstanding position, which converts her also into the first woman of the family.

In society, by likewise enjoying the respect of the community, by not /becoming involved in the/ violating the code of personal security as it refers to acts of sexual aggression against herself, her female relatives, or her female slaves and bond servants. Besides, by occupying the position of first wife in the marriage and being able to intervene as an arbitrator in interclan disputes, and being able to do her part, as head of the household, in cases of putchi /clan war/.

2. Personal qualities:

/251 cont./

554 562 a) Physical. As in the case of the man, to have a physique in accord with/the ideals of/ cultural patterns and without outstanding physical defects.

To be sexually attractive.

To be a virgin at marriage.

b) Psychic and cultural qualities. 1. Reserved. 2. Faithful to cultural patterns. 3. Prudent. 4. Respectful. 5. Hospitable and generous. 6. Faithful wife. /252/ 7. Sisterly with her co-wives. 8. Good manager of the home. 9. Affectionate mother. 10. Capable of economic independence. 11. Mastery of the language.

c) Within the framework of the division of labor: to be a shaman or diviner; to have a knowledge of magic, particularly in the making of charms; good midwife, dressmaker, potter, herbalist, or competent maid.

VIII

554 A violation, in active or passive form, of the system of law and order by persons who are unable to pay a satisfactory indemnity for the infraction leads to their being given a special extrasocial status with very clear characteristics. They occupy the lowest place on the social scale. They are the bond servants and slaves whose general characteristics, as we have seen in the chapters referring to them, are:

Lack of family ties, since their consanguineous units have been broken up by their defeat in war as punishment for breaking the cultural rules connected with law and order.

As a consequence, lack of economic backing.

Lack of territorial connections, the land of their consanguineous unit having been taken over by the victors.

Loss of the position of being free, becoming chattel over whom their owners have the right of usufruct and abuse.

/252 cont./

554 626 In addition to bond servants and slaves who at any rate are still part of the Guajiro social conglomerate in their special status, there exist those outside society who have got into this situation as a consequence of breaking of the regimen for social stability, security, but who besides not having paid the indemnity required for their delict are cast out of the community because their clan group refuses to admit any responsibility for the crime, by which act they are excluded from the community and have to flee and go into exile. This appears to have been the case with the Kusina Indians, who have already definitely disappeared, due to the exterminating expeditions that have been launched against them by all the consanguineous Guajiro groups and by whites. They were a group of Indians ostracised for delicts committed, who had no family backing and who gathered together to live by robbery and murder of other Indians and the whites who lived in the neighborhood of their hideouts in the Sierra de los Kosina. /253/

IX

554 548 Prostitutes also can be classified among those of lowest *feminine status, as their conduct is not in accord with the female* cultural patterns for women in the community, which practically treats them as outcasts. Although they may enjoy a measure of individual prestige due to the satisfactions they give, they attract to themselves the contempt of society as they are constantly violating culture patterns. They are evaluated in two ways, but primarily are classified as despicable beings, violators of cultural patterns.

Nevertheless, during the summers, which are the periods of scarcity and misery, their conduct finds, if not approbation, at least excuse among their relatives, who see in their way of life a means of income which assists in part to supply the most basic necessities of life. Furthermore, with the change in ideas

/253 cont./

554 548 with respect to social questions as fundamental as marriage, there has been a change in the judgment of prostitution and concubinage, two ways by which a woman escapes from legal strictures, almost always because of necessity or the special circumstances in which her group is placed.

X

554 562 888 We should note here the important fact that the functions ascribed to the working Guajiro woman no longer count when she has passed through her adult change of life, that is to say, when she has passed the menopause. From this moment it appears that she enjoys absolute freedom within the community to do those things that are prohibited a woman before she reaches that condition, such as to become inebriated, to smoke, to indulge in sexual liberties; certain taboos now no longer refer to her, and the cultural patterns need not be so rigorously complied with; she is not obliged to become the wife of the heirs of the dead husband, etc. Her status again becomes effective with all its attached functions after her death, as we shall see.

XI

554 769 775 The active presence of an individual in Guajiro society is not lost at his death. In the concept that these natives have about death, clearly expressed in the study made by my husband to which we have /254/ made reference several times, every member of the community continues being a member of it and exercises influence over his fellow men after his death. His status in the afterlife is determined by the same conditions that he had during his earthly life: the acquiring of greater wealth and of prestige confers a higher status in the world of the spirits.

/254 cont./

554 769 775 His functions keep on being carried out by means of intermediaries, as happens in the case of the piache, since the shaman, or medicine man, is nothing more than an intermediary between society and the world of the spirits; his illumination is determined by the action of famous dead shamans who are reincarnated, one might say, in the living one and determine many of the actions of the community, especially those with reference to Illness and to Death. In other words, the shaman in his life is not guided by his own personality but rather by that of the shamans who have deigned to come down to him to indicate the functions that he must comply with, the rules that he must observe, and, in short, all the indispensable acts of his profession. The spiritual direction of the group is thus in the hands of the dead, who continue to look after their group in a more effective manner than when they were alive.

The gradation of status which we have seen in Guajiro society in previous paragraphs is also followed in the world of the dead, in which murderers, for example, occupy their same condition of outlaws, as also do suicides; they do not wander about freely as the other spirits do but are condemned to crawl face downward along the ground. And, if while in life they were a threat to the regimen for personal security or collective stability, they are also so after dying; from this develops the series of preventive practices relative to these spirits.

XII

554 558 Status is susceptible to modifications both upward and downward. The causes of ascent are implicit in the conditions referred to, which as they are reached one by one confer on the individual an increase in his prestige, or keep it maintained. Among the sources of descent we can enumerate the following as the principal ones: a) the scarcity of male members for some reason or other in the clan unit or in the small family

/254 cont./

554 group, which implies in fact a lack of social backing; b) economic losses which prevent their maintaining their clan or
558 family rank and, therefore, their individual prestige. c) the breaking of the regimen for personal security and collective stability which implicitly carries /255/ with it the lowering of status, because when a group which has suffered considerable losses in number as well as in capital commits a punishable act against an individual of a superior clan, it becomes liable, not to the legal negotiation for indemnity but to extermination as a free unit, because the offended group, being superior, will not deal with the offenders on a legal basis. Furthermore, if the infraction wrongs a group weakened in its economy and in the number of its male members, the indemnity is not governed by legality but rests on the individual judgment of the powerful offender, in conflict with whom the offended one cannot put up sufficient coercive force to insist on an adequate indemnity.

671 This phenomenon is due to a clear and precise fact within
627 the social mesh that holds the clans together in La Guajira: questions of law are applicable only when the clan groups who are challenging each other are equally equipped in economic strength and in fighting men. It is only then that the legal action of the arbitrators can be brought into play to negotiate an arrangement equitable to both sides. Law, therefore, is regulated by equality of strength. But once this equilibrium is broken, law no longer exists as an institution if it is contrary to the will of the /stronger/ injured side, which will impose the indemnity by means of its strength and according to its personal ambition, sacrificing the offender both socially and economically, or when the injury has been inflicted on a weaker group, allowing the aggressive action to go unpunished.

[33 cont.]

114 We do not wish to question Professor Métraux's statement
197 about the influence of White contact in relation to medicine-
562 women in the other groups cited by him, as we are not objec-
*756 tively acquainted with them. But with regard to the Guajiro, we have to make the clarification that in the descriptions collected by us in the field, it is precisely the woman who really initiates magic, or better said shamanism, among the Indians, when she obliges her nephew to follow her own career. This aspect can be better understood when the reader comes to the section of this chapter entitled "The shaman in oral literature."
[174] The fact that women appear as shamans in oral literature demonstrates the antiquity of the institution, as this literature faithfully preserves the most remote traditions of the group.

*756 The shaman, man of two worlds. All that we have seen in connection with the life cycle of the Guajiro shaman makes us think that he is what we have called him in the subtitle that heads these paragraphs: a man of two worlds — the world of the living and the world of the spirits of the dead. [34]

*756 The communication which he establishes after all the
554 preparatory ceremonies with one or several protector spirits who lavish on him every kind of counsel and instruction and even protect him against evil in all its manifestations: illness, enemies, public calamities, etc., make of him a man distinct from all the rest. His status is superior to that of other mortals because in his hands he has power over both good and evil. It is this duality that binds with his science a man who is both sacred and human, a being respected by all but feared at the same time, a good man, able to cure illnesses, but also a malignant being, liable to let loose the fury of the spirits beyond the grave. He is respected, loved, feared, and even, we might dare to say, profoundly hated.

[783] What predominates in him above all is the characteristic of impurity due to contamination from death. Sacred and impure become confounded in him; he is sacred because he is untouchable, and he is untouchable because of his participation with death through his protector spirits.

*756 His dual position as inhabitant of two worlds, involuntary it is true, depends on two fundamentally simple facts: first, his

[38 cont.]

538 medicine man, after his death, and it is only then that he can
*756 himself exercise his profession by himself, having at his service a terrestial intermediary, to whom he communicates by various means his methods of curing, events of the future, etc. This equally confirms our thesis, fully expounded previously, that the shaman is a man of two worlds: the world of the living and the world inhabited by the spirits of the dead. Lastly, it reaffirms what we have said in reply to Métraux's statement, that the feminine institution of shamanism in La Guajira is not due to the influence of European culture (which is only now beginning to be strongly felt) but is as ancient as their oral literature.

174 Present position of the shaman. If we consider socio-
565 economic conditions in La Guajira in the Pre-conquest epoch, which placed the natives in a position of a people engaged essentially in hunting and in fishing on the coasts (36), we have to

> 36. Restrepo Tirado says: "The Guajiro and Cocina [Kuina] Indians occupy La Guajira Peninsula. They were nomads and lived by hunting and fishing in improvised encampements, which they moved from one site to another." (Historia de la Provincia de Santa Marta [History of the Province of Santa Marta], 1st, I, 15.)

accept as a fact a virtual equality between the different clans which composed the community. The superiority of one or various clans over the rest was possibly due to their greater aptitudes for war or the greater number of fighting men they had at their command. Riches would be represented by valuable adornments, necklaces of gold or of tuma, pearls, etc. [38]

174 In such a state of affairs under the primitiveness which we
● 554 can presume existed in the Guajiro community of that time, the
*756 shaman must have occupied the first place in the social hierarchy. His undiminished supernatural powers, his position as intermediary between the community and the world of the dead, the fears which his powers provoked were all sufficient reasons for him to be respected and feared above all and by all.

[116 cont.]

787 If someone dreams that a certain person is dead, and he sees him in that state, it is because he will be seeing a steer killed in the near future; and vice versa if in the dream he is present during the sacrifice of a steer it means that a certain person, who is then identified by the interpreter of the dream, is going to be killed by violence.

If in a dream one sees a person who lives at a distance, it fortells that within a short time he will be seen; and vice versa if the person in the dream lives in the vicinity of the dreamer, it indicates that that person will not be seen for a long time, or never; in other words, he is soon going to die.

If someone dreams that he cares greatly for a certain person, and he sees himself making demonstrations of affection toward him, that person will no longer care for him, he will forget the dreamer [117] and completely ignore him. On the other hand, if the dreamer appears to be very disdainful of an individual and shows his feelings of dislike for him, it means that the person is going to care for him passionately.

When in a dream a person is going to be murdered, this means that someone of his group will die, not the person dreamed of" *does mean other.*

If in a dream he has the sensation (nightmare) that he is falling from the hammock in which he is sleeping, that is a sure sign that when he is dead those who are carrying his body to the cemetery will let it fall and crash to the bottom of the grave, when the social norm stipulates that the body of a dead person should be lowered carefully and slowly to its final resting place. Such an occurrence signifies that the bearers of the body held the dead man in little esteem.

A woman who dreams that she has, or that she will have, a daughter is convinced that this means that her honor is going to be defamed, that she will be involved in vile gossip and slander; people will say that men have abused her, and when they see her with a man they will say that he is one of the many with whom she has had illicit relations. But when she dreams that the child she will bear will be male, this is a sure sign of a pinchi and that her family will be involved in an insurrection war and will suffer

[148 cont.]

4. Also like the wanurú, he takes on special forms of dress, such as that of a "king," an arijuna (civilizado), and an Indian. At times flames leap from his eyes and mouth (possibly acculturation from Catholic legends about the devil).

5. There are other beliefs that refer to him, such as the one that states that when during the night a woman should find a praying mantis [mantis religiosa] she should hurriedly throw some cotton seeds and salt on the fire in order that with the flame produced when these catch fire, the malignant spirit, or yoruji, who brings the mantis with him will be frightened away. There is a similarity in this belief to the one that prescribes placing horses' skulls around to frighten the wanurú away from the vicinity of habitations.

• • •

In summary we would say that the spirits of good are represented by Máreiwa and by a series of other protector spirits, especially those of shamans, which are no other than those of dead curers. Their standing or status depends on that which they had in life, the greater their prestige as curers in this world, [149] the more important will be their position in the next as benevolent spirits. The spirits of evil are represented by dead persons and are of different degrees of danger according to the characteristics of their death. It is presumable that those called yoruji, resembling the devil, the greatest incarnation of evil as an abstract idea, are spirits of the dead of a greater degree of wickedness, while the wanurú, connected almost exclusively with sickness, are spirits of dead persons of a lesser degree of evil.

Finally, the differences between the two categories of spirits -- benevolent and malevolent -- are of two classes: 1) of a quantitive character, according to their power to do good or evil respectively; 2) of a formal character, referring to the apportion of evil spirits in various bodily forms, and the absence of such forms for good spirits. [150] [Page 150 is blank.]

[153 cont.]

182 *756 e) Defense of the community and the individual from the harmful influence of evil spirits, an influence which largely expresses itself in personal and communal illnesses.

●554 *756 In exchange for all these services given by the shaman, the community offers him as payment, on one hand, their backing, respect, admiration, and even fear, and on the other hand, material goods which consolidate his status of privilege, such as necklaces, cloth, jewels in general, animals, and money.

• • •

182 1741 [154] In accordance with the previously established division between magic and the foretelling of the future in Chapter IV, we should now state that the diviner, like the shaman, serves to maintain, defend, and restore the regimen for individual security and collective stability, an affirmation which we have based on the following functions which he performs:

a) Discovery through divination of the causes of illnesses, thus permitting the prescribing of adequate medication, with great probability of success for the patient, who is generally a child.

[685] b) Also through divination the restoration of lost objects and the discovery of the thief -- factor in the breaking of the regimen for personal security -- so that the thief may suffer the penalties with which society punishes those who violate the cultural norms concerning personal property.

[787] c) Divination by which, when husbands are absent from home, their state of health can be ascertained and their wives can provide them with rapid and effective help.

d) Determination, in the last instance, of a novice's "vocation" or lack of "vocation" in the science of shamanism, a decision which is of great importance for the community in general, since on it depends whether the community has in its future magician a defender of its regimen for stability, a counselor and spiritual director, or, on the contrary, a charlatan on whom the protector spirits have not descended to illuminate him and who

[155 cont.]
182 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called
626 "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individ-
789 uals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against
595 some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influ-
[177] ence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy
[654] for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

751 [156] Another institution that we see directly affected by
771 magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how
881 the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly
[XX] the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

764 Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a
775 life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and
771 through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic
626 is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

[156 cont.]

554 556 781 3. The individual. Another interesting social aspect related to magic is in connection with the status derived from wealth, expressed by the greater or lesser number of heads of stock owned by an individual. But apart from this strictly material aspect, magic has powers which when put into action assist the individual to acquire a coveted position or to improve one he already has, as is done, for example, in the cultural aspect of language, the mastery of which with the use of fine turns of speech can give to the speaker the highly esteemed and prestigeful position of arbitrator, or intermediary, in their interclan struggles, a position that is often confused with that of chief.

Within this field of magic activity we can cite as examples the following:

a) The sacrifice of animals, which not only gives prestige to the living but also establishes the status of the deceased in his life beyond the tomb.

b) The use of diverse charms such as those for love, for making one rich, for obtaining respect, prestige, and affection, etc.

c) The custom of an individual eating the leavings of food of individuals of special physical characteristics, especially those having qualities superior to his own, as for example, a white skin, a beard, etc., with the end of becoming more outstanding and improving his status.

d) As an indirect form of elevating status, we have the case of the Indian Kurita-Pata, who swallowed a charm and took a slave girl for wife in order to heal the wounds he received from the Kustna Indians. [157] The slave, because of a dream, passed to the category of wife, thus ascending the social scale.

• • •

121 771 781 A great part of the Goajiro's personality is molded by this institution of his culture, and many of his reactions would be inexplicable without previous knowledge of the process of magic, the fields of its functioning, the ways of life it has created, the

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC1

582 As for the sanctioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. [578] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is sanctioned although it very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system [577] of Crow type.

602 No avoidance taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention [578] is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an older than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and [473] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

605 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro. 606 Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as 607 stepparents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the [477] father's side.

Caracas, Venezuela

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native language. Some of them know how to read and write. They are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture. Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory. Many of these castas or social groupings are further subdivided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally. The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields of Zulia. The life of the poor people has not changed much since early times. Polygamy is widely practised, as is also concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her husband. The children inherit property and social affiliations through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be-

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

628 672 681 deeds frequently, and fears that he may bring severe disaster on his relatives, he may be killed. It is interesting to know that the individual may not necessarily be evil-intentioned.

672 We are accustomed to think that for an act of trespass on the person or property the injured party can recover only if the act is considered to have been intentional or negligent.[6] Among the Guajiro there is no such qualification of a tort in order to allow legal action and to recognize legal liability. The act and the injury ensuing from it are the only considerations which have any importance.

628 672 683 *Case I:* Three boys, A, B, and C, close friends, were seated on a log in the order named. B held a knife in his hand. In the spirit of play A and C attempted to take it away from him. In the good-natured scuffle that ensued A was slashed across the thigh accidentally.

The families of A, the injured party, and of B were on friendly terms. B's family immediately offered payment for the hurt done to A. Each family chose an arbiter, men known for their knowledge of law and their fairness, who granted A's family payment commensurate with the social position of A and the ability of B's family to pay: 60 sheep, 1 bull, 1 ass, a gold necklace, a horse.

628 672 682 *Case II:* Cacique A killed Cacique B through the accidental discharge of a firearm. Their families belonged to the same casta, and both being anxious to avoid armed conflict B's family agreed to accept a property composition for the tort: 100 cows, 100 horses, 7 mules, 1,000 sheep.

Case III: Cacique A killed Cacique B in a quarrel. Both families being desirous of keeping the peace and both being members of the same casta, property composition was arranged.

This case would obviously fall within the class of crimes in our society and A would have been punished irrespective of the attitude of B's family. As a matter of fact, had B's family 554 628 672 682 been less important or had it belonged to the peon or slave class, A's family may not have paid anything. On the other hand had A been a peon or slave, his family would have suffered extermination at the hands of B's relatives. A's family

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them.

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family.

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers.

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A.

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho at night and commits suicide there. B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death.

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife.

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

unable to punish his nephew by disinheriting him, the nephew's behavior is very much dictated by the ties of regard or affection that exist or are lacking between the two. The private behavior of the uncle toward his nephew is almost wholly controlled by the same ties, as there would be no way for the nephew to retaliate if his uncle were to break the rule. There is one control, however, that both the nephew and the uncle have over each other. It has nothing to do with either regard or affection or with the possibility of inheritance. It is the fear that if either the nephew or the uncle break the rule the offended one may circulate the news in the community. If such news were circulated the reaction of the community would depend on the standing in the community of both parties concerned. If, for example, the offended had good standing while the offender had not, the reaction would be highly condemnatory. In the reverse situation, the news would be taken lightly.

From the evidence gathered, three primary factors condition the actual attitudes and behavior of a senior nephew and his senior maternal uncle. The first is the economic interest that the nephew may have in his uncle's property. The second is the fear of public opinion. The economic factor may or may not be operative; the fear of public opinion is always present. The third factor is regard or affection or similar personal sentiments. These three factors may go hand in hand and then it is very difficult to say which is the strongest. In some cases, as in that of Camilo and his uncle, mutual affection and regard are undoubtedly the dominant factor.

To sum up: when the senior maternal uncle is rich, he is the giver, and the senior nephew the receiver, of benefits. As to actual behavior, however, a nephew is obliged to show deference in a particular manner to his senior maternal uncle, and the uncle in turn must show a certain amount of respect for his nephew. Fear of public opinion makes for conformity in behavior regardless of economic interest or personal regard.

Reciprocal Relations of Maternal Uncle and Niece

The relationship here is just the reverse of the uncle-nephew relationship. Here the uncle is the receiver of the benefits and

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the men were already quite drunk. Everyone was chattering, laughing and enjoying themselves. It was more like a fair than a funeral. The sun was in the zenith and there was no shade anywhere. Most of the men had removed their cloaks, only putting them on to go to the bier and lament; but the women kept their tunics on; there were no half-naked women to be seen there. Some of them had tunics of light bought material, and when the wind pressed the cloth against their bodies their forms stood out like reliefs and their skins shone through the thin material. Many of the men devoured them with their eyes, but the women's interest seemed riveted to the steaming boiled meat.

We met a thin and obviously poor Indian who expressed satisfaction at the number of funerals that had lately taken place. He had been attending them uninterruptedly for almost a month, had had meat every day and was beginning to put on weight. Yet he was not high in the social scale. Each person was entertained in accordance with his social rank.

There was not much sleep that night. Lamentation continued beside the bier all night, while sounds of singing, shouts and squabbling came from the Indian camp. We had been told that it would be a day or two before the dead man was buried. That is not done until all the cattle allotted for the funeral have been slaughtered. A number of beasts had been set aside to provide the meat the guests took away with them, and others were being saved for the subsequent funeral. We knew that in two years' time the dead man's bones would be dug up and another feast held.

In that climate a body should not remain above ground even two days, and yet the funerals of the rich lasted much longer. Thus they swathe the bodies of the rich in as many pieces of cloth as possible and in several cow-hides in an attempt to keep the stench from being too offensive. There was a lot of talk about the funeral of a rich chief, José Dolores, that had taken place some years before. How many cattle were slaughtered on that occasion is not known for certain—the monks said about three thousand—but it is known that the feast lasted two and a half months. The body

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

was wrapped in forty-eight beautifully woven cloaks each worth the equivalent of £20-£25. Despite this the atmosphere was not pleasant and during the feast they sent to Venezuela for so much eau de cologne that it was said to have cost thirty thousand bolivares. What we were attending was thus quite a simple funeral, but it must have cost several hundred pounds.

On the third day the body, wrapped in hides, was placed on a horse and taken out to the burial place, where one of the closest male relatives had dug a grave—a great honour that. Everyone accompanied the body. The men drank copiously as they walked along. The dead man was laid in the grave, and some of the sand that had been dug out of it was carefully shovelled in; then they let down food and drink, including a large jar of spirits, and—to our amazement—the enamel pot followed. Indians who have had a lot to do with white people like to take such pots on their journeys, and apparently it was considered that one might be needed even on a man's last journey.

After this everyone fired their guns into the air, and those who did not have firearms shot arrows. That was done in the hope of driving away any malevolent spirits who might be trying to worm their way back. A large fire was lit on the grave. This would burn every night for some time to come, in order to light the soul on its journey.

Later, the dead man's relatives would go out now and again to lament and take food and drink, which latter they would invite the dead man to share with them. Then, after a couple of years, the man's bones would be dug up and the after-funeral celebrated. We attended several of these; this second ceremony is entrusted to a few female relatives, who, swathed in tunics from head to foot, take hold of the bones with bits of cloth. The skull and skeleton are cleaned and laid on a cloth, in which they are tied up and lowered into a jar and this is taken to the house of grief, where another, though shorter funeral feast is held. After that the jar is buried again.

Those who have dug up the bones and all who have touched a dead person, must not eat with their hands for

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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him that can give the alarm. For a long time he has to refrain from all association with his friends and keep away from feasts. In the end, if agreement on compensation is not reached with the dead man's family, he will have to leave the district for a period of years. This precaution is to protect the slayer from the spirit of the man he killed, which would look for him in his normal haunts and would not recognize him under the new conditions, but it is also a protection against the dead man's nearest relatives, who will thirst for vengeance as long as compensation has not been agreed and paid.

We mounted and rode away from our first burial feast. On the fringe of the area stood six Indians armed, some with guns, others with bows and arrows. Their task was to shoot after all departing guests in order to scare off any dangerous spirits that might be intending to keep them company. Here, a deputy-host presented us with a live heifer. Every guest was to have a present of an animal according to his rank. We also had the meat that had been distributed that morning. It was considered quite all right either to eat it or to take it to eat on the way home. Several others were doing as we and there was a long line of departing guests, the men on horseback, the women mostly on donkeys. We all kept together for quite a distance.

Spirits rose as the heat increased, for drink had been handed out along with the meat, the Indians believing, as did the Creoles, that spirits were the best protection against the dangers of the hot sun.

A young Indian rode up to us. He wore a cloak with a beautiful pattern and was mounted on a splendid mare, which showed that he was of well-to-do family. He was in a bad mood, however, having been forgotten in the distribution of parting gifts and had not been given even a sheep. For that reason he was highly incensed with his neglectful hosts, whom he obviously scarcely knew.

We rode past an old man on foot dragging a calf behind him. The old man was obviously sober, but he kept muttering imprecations to himself. He too had been forgotten.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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175 During the Colonial Period, the *Goajiro* were hostile toward the Span-
648 iards. After 1830, however, as a result of better treatment from the Whites, thanks in part to the efforts of Juan MacPherson, they become more friendly. Present authorities in the *Goajiro* region merely regulate frontier traffic.

797 The attempts by the Capuchin Fathers to alter their ways of life have
177 been unsuccessful. Except for the thin Catholic veneer, noticeable in baptismal rites and Spanish names, *Goajiro* social life seems to have been little affected by centuries of contact with Hispanic culture. Foreign influence is more apparent materially in iron implements, utensils, guns, textiles, and ornaments. All the domestic animals are of Spanish origin.

161 As a result of tuberculosis, smallpox, and venereal disease, the *Goajiro*
164 are gradually dying out, and the population estimates found in the literature have become smaller and smaller, the most recent indicating a scant 18,000.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

142 The *Goajiro* are usually described as aggressive and untrustworthy, of
[181] medium or small stature (cf. J. A. Mason, 1926, pp. 39, 52), copper colored, with jet-black hair, dark eyes rather obliquely set, a broad and blunt nose, and a large mouth (pl. 72, *bottom, right*). Within the tribes there are physical differences which seem to correspond with social status,
[365] the lower classes being smaller and more Indian in appearance, while those of higher rank are more often of a greater stature, with curlier hair and larger noses.

LANGUAGE

147 The *Goajiro* language belongs to the *Arawakan* family. There is, however, no good analysis of it. A grammar, "replete with errors" according to Simons, was published by Rafael Caledon in 1878. Various word lists have been published from time to time.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The *Goajiro* have a poor opinion of agriculture, and only
[358] the poorer sibs practice it. The one fertile part of the peninsula is near Punta Espada. Here the land is well cultivated, and plantains, maguey, onions, coca, sugarcane, and grain are grown. Tobacco, bananas, maize, gourds, manioc, sweetpotatoes, millet, beans, and watermelons also are raised. Those who own cattle grow only small patches of quick-maturing corn for the purpose of making chicha beer.

22 **Hunting, fishing, and gathering.**—Hunting, fishing, and gathering occupy a minor place. Deer, armadillos, land tortoises, and rabbits are

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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Urianas are connected by marriage with the Pushaina, another wealthy "tribe" of the *Goajiro*.

Each extended village (section or ranchería) consists of related members who are bound by close ties and who unite against outsiders if one of them is wronged. Intermarriage among the ulu is common.

The role of the maternal uncle in *Goajiro* culture is of great importance. Santa Cruz's detailed study of it (1941) will be summarized here. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, not only according to the seniority of either uncle or nephew but also according to that of the nieces. The maternal uncle must leave all his property to his oldest sister's oldest son, the other nephews receiving nothing. In practice the maternal uncle transfers most of his property to his own children, and after his death little if anything remains for the nephew. The attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what inheritance he expects from him. If the nephew marries a girl from a wealthy family and has, therefore, to pay a high bride price, the senior maternal uncle is expected to make a donation to meet the price. The uncle has no authority, however, in the selection of the bride.

Etiquette requires that in company the nephew must always remain silent if his senior maternal uncle is speaking; if the nephew wishes to speak he must first ask his uncle's permission. The nephew must always show respect and conduct himself with propriety. On the other hand, a senior uncle should not criticize or laugh at his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son or between other uncles and nephews. Public opinion castigates any deviation from this behavior between uncle and nephew.

The relationship between a maternal uncle and his niece is just the reverse of this, for the uncle is the recipient of benefits. He receives the bride price paid for the niece, and he contributes nothing toward the dowry for the bridegroom. The maternal uncle, however, is empowered to accept or reject a prospective bridegroom, and the girl has no recourse in the matter. A girl is respectful and considerate, although less rigidly formal, toward her senior maternal uncle. Her behavior toward her other uncles depends solely on her regard for them.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There is no central government uniting all the ulu, but each ulu or subdivision thereof has its chiefs who inherit their position matrilineally. The oldest chief has greatest authority and may carry a knobbed stick as symbol of his authority. He is generally the wealthiest and has most retainers. Hereditary status is very important, and a man born poor may never achieve a high position, even though he acquires much wealth. He may, however, marry a woman of high rank and his children will inherit her rank. Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally [§31
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers
and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the
girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving,
sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached,
a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on
the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now
considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on
her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [§34
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls §36]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of [§36
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among
the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an op-
portunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities [§38
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- [§39
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. [§35
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, [402
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price
only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages
goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part
of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from
the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the alijuna is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* [§32
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Rio Hacha,
who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their
trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of [§35
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [32]
ranchería of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially
woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some dis-
tance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the
bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [404]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic [§35
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives
in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man,
as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [§42]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household accord-
ing to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- [§34
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[1]

Goajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Goajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-cattle culture of the Goajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Goajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Goajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Goajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Goajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[1] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

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The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Uriana clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sinkipao in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 30. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and most 3,000 of sheep,

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goats, mules, asses, and horses. Approximately 60% of this total he acquired through inheritance, as his maternal uncle was a wealthy man and, in his time, the leader of the Pushaina clan. The rest of his property, Panchito has acquired through the payment of bride-prices received for his nieces. Unquestionably, Panchito Silva has become wealthy and the leader of his clan through inheritance, although, through the years, as he has aged and his nieces have married he has become more firmly established in his position.

Members of the Pushaina clan come to Panchito from the most remote places of the peninsula (both from Colombia and Venezuela), to seek his advice; to ask him to settle disputes among families within the clan; to tell him about injuries received by a clan member so he can establish the amount of compensation to be paid and exact payment from the offending clan; to fix the bride-price of a given girl member of the clan; to establish how much each male member must contribute in order to pay compensation due to another clan; and for many other minor details of clan organization and function. The writer was a guest at Panchito's home for two days and, during that period, Panchito received the visit of no less than 63 clan members, who, in all, brought about 25 or 30 different clan problems to be settled.

The story of José de la Rosa Fernandez, although different from that of Panchito Silva, represents a second method of acquiring status following the traditional law of the tribe. José de la Rosa Fernandez is also a full-blooded Indian, about 65 years old. He has had seven wives, but always one at the time, except now when he has two. One of them is an old woman with whom he lives most of the time, and just recently he married a very young girl (who remains living with her mother) whom he visits once or twice a week. Fernandez's position in the Uriana clan is very similar to that of Silva in the Pushaina. The writer was not able to hold private conversations with Fernandez and, consequently, exact data regarding his property are lacking. Although he did not inherit too much property nor the clan leadership as in Silva's case, he was fortunate to have many nieces whom he has managed to marry off very well and to get large bride-prices for them. Thus he began to accumulate property and at present he is probably the richest man in the

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Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige. About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews. Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alaʼlaa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *toʼolo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL. (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrandt's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

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there may be other traditional ways of acquiring status. The literature mentions none, although Ernst (1887), Jahn (1927), and Hernandez de Alba (1936) make detailed comments on the two traditional ways described here.

Incidentally, these two leaders are never called by their first names, not even by their closest relatives, and are referred to as Ti'oldito Silva and Ti'oldito Fernandez.

To illustrate the new way of acquiring status in Guajiro society it is best to describe quite fully how one individual, and so far as the writer knows, the only one, whom we shall name José Perez, has reached a certain status through employing none of the traditional methods. As guide and interpreter of the present writer during the recent field trip, José Perez was in constant personal contact with the author, who was able to obtain valuable first hand information and observe reactions to personal and intimate questions.

First let us give a brief biographical sketch of José Perez. Perez is now 46 years old. He was born in the village of Castillete, Venezuela, in the extreme north-eastern part of the Guajiro peninsula. His father (still living, now in the town of Paraguaipoa, Venezuela) has no trace of Indian blood and is considered in Paraguaipoa as pure white, while his mother (deceased) was a pure Indian belonging to the Uriana Clan. Perez's father took him, while still a child, to Maracaibo for schooling which included three years of high school. At that time Perez's father was quite influential in local politics in Maracaibo and was able to get the Governor of the State of Zulia interested in the youth. Perez was given a small position in the State's government, where he was employed for about ten years. During this period he married a local white girl with whom he had a child (now in his fifth year of medical college, State University of Zulia) and apparently had all but forgotten the Indian half of his heritage settling into the whites' ways of life.

Perez went into politics and was elected Prefect (an office similar to the County Sheriff in the United States) of the Paez district, Sinamaica, in the threshold of the Guajira, so to speak. He moved north to his district leaving his family in Maracaibo. This return to a semi-Indian district apparently had some influence in Perez's outlook for the future, for as soon as his term of

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office expired (in two years time) he sought and obtained a position in the Federal Ministry of Public Works in a project which was seeking the best places to drill water wells all over the Guajira peninsula. He held this job for about a year and half. He is now employed in the Guajira office, in Paraguaipoa, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and is "ad honorem" agent of the Comisión Indigenista in the Guajira. In these two jobs he gets paid only when he performs certain work, such as when he recently acted as guide and interpreter for the present writer.

During his term as Prefect of Paez (Sinamaica) he married, according to the Guajira tradition and law, one of the daughters of Ti'ulito Fernandez, for whom he had to pay a very high price, as the girl was the daughter of an important chief. Following Guajira law the price for the bride was gathered among the members of the Uriana clan to which Perez belongs due to his mother's heritage. Incidentally, as Fernandez also belongs to the Uriana clan he had to contribute to the collection of the bride-price of his own daughter although, of course, the amount collected did not go to him but to the girl's maternal uncle. This was a typical exogamous marriage as the girl belongs to the Uraijuty'i clan, that being her mother's clan. At present, Perez keeps two households, one in Maracaibo with his white wife and son, whom he visits once or twice a week, if he is not doing any special work for the ministries; the other, in his native household at the Laguna del Pajaro, Guajira, where he remains most of his time. He has had no children with his Indian wife. His two simultaneous marriages have brought him no trouble with the law, as according to Guajira tradition polygyny is perfectly acceptable, and according to Venezuelan law he has only one legitimate wife.

It is interesting to note at this point that Perez denies having a white wife in Maracaibo, although he does not deny having the son and shows pride in saying that his son is in medical school. The present writer was not able to fathom the reasons behind this denial. Data regarding his Maracaibo marriage was obtained from Perez's father who was also unable to furnish good motives for the fact that Perez tries to hide that he has a household in that city. To me this point the writer, after the

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will go to have him fall in disgrace. Whether these accusations are true or false is not our concern in this article.

Summing up Pons's position in Guajiro society we find the following facts: Among the older and more influential men Pons is not considered as one of them and their attitude towards him is not a respectful one. He on the contrary is quite respectful towards them. No one, however, among this group can be classified as his enemy, and they do seek him out for advice in their dealings with Government officials. Among his contemporaries he enjoys a very influential position and practically everyone seeks his friendship. His true friends are to be found, without question, among this group, and, as far as it could be investigated, he has no real enemies among them, although there may be a few who envy his position. The younger generations are clearly divided into two groups—one group which truly respects and looks up to him, and another which is composed of his bitter enemies.

From the many formal and informal conversations the present writer has had with Pons—at his home, while traveling, when visiting some one else, etc.—the following analysis may be made of his behavior and position. While in Maracaibo, Pons soon became aware that he could attain no high status within a white culture where competition is always very keen. As Prefect of Economics he clearly saw the possibilities of climbing up the ladder in Guajiro society and the first step he took towards that goal was to marry a full-blooded Indian girl from an important family, and to marry her in accordance with the traditional Guajiro law. There was very little chance for him to obtain the necessary wealth and to attain leadership status through property, but he saw the opportunity his semi-official position gave him to become the point of contact between the Guajiro and white cultures, cultivating both and becoming an almost indispensable person in the dealings the true natives had with the authorities. Whether his marriage to the Guajiro girl was purely for interest or whether there was any love involved is, of course, very difficult to say. As the writer made his headquarters in Pons's household at the Laguna del Pajaro, during his stay in the Guajiro, he was able to observe, at first hand, the relationship between Pons and his native wife. These were always